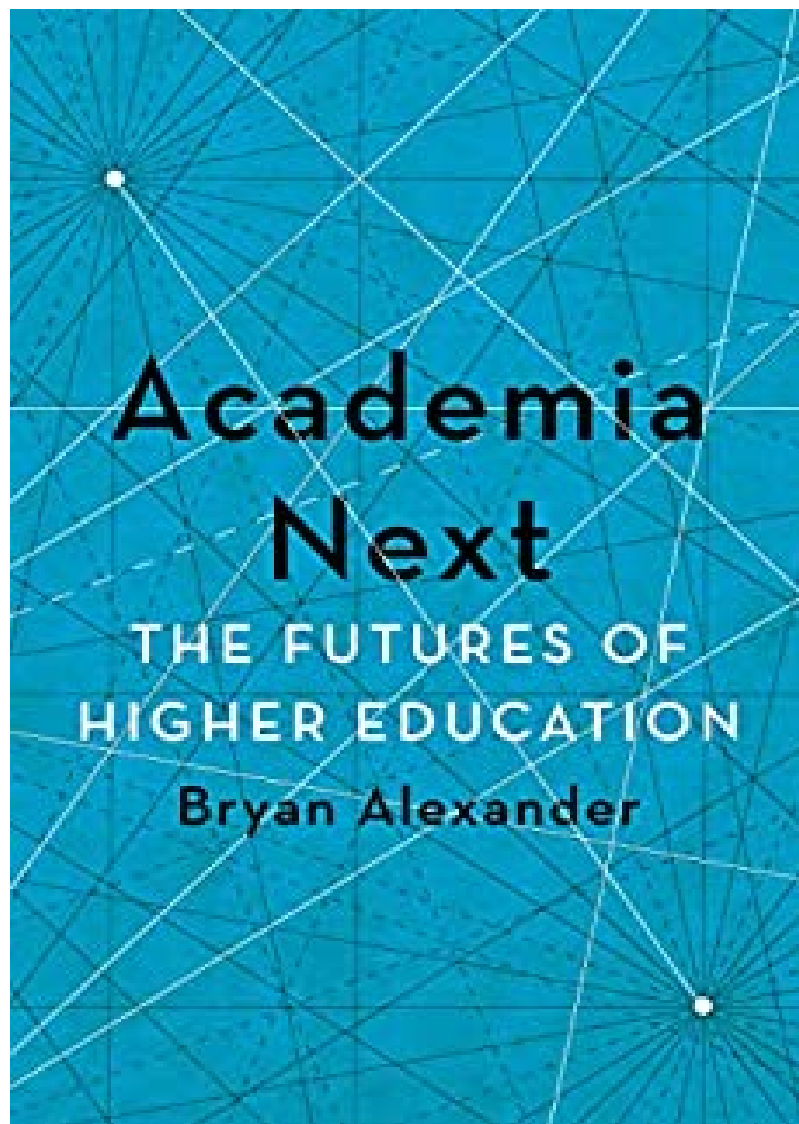


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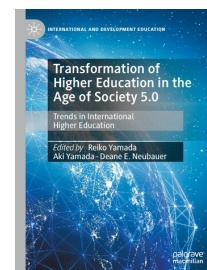


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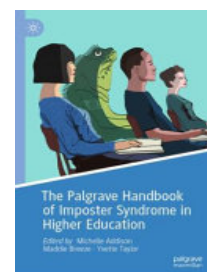
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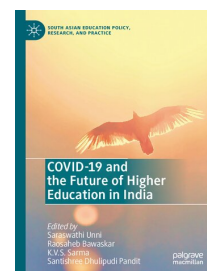
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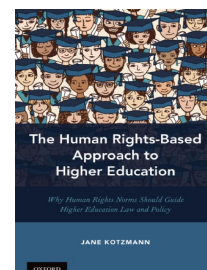
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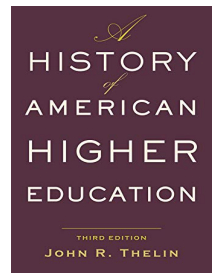
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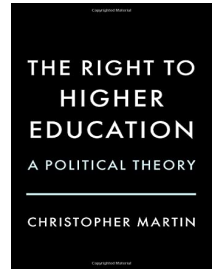
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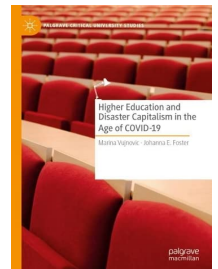
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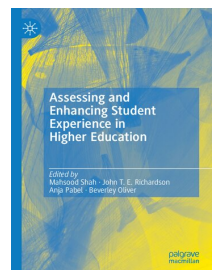
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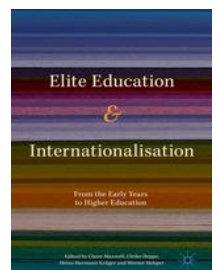
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The Futures of Higher Education

Bryan Alexander



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To all adjunct faculty, who do more than anyone,
with less than anyone,
to build the future of higher education

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Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction i

Trends

- 1 Objects in Mirror May Be Closer Than They Appear 13
- 2 Catching the University in Midtransformation 28
- 3 The New Age of Fewer Children and More Inequality 62
- 4 The Marriage of Carbon and Silicon 78
- 5 Beyond the Virtual Learning Environment 101
- 6 Connecting the Dots: Metatrends 128

Scenarios

- 7 Peak Higher Education 147
- 8 Health Care Nation 157
- 9 Open Education Triumphant 165
- 10 Renaissance 174
- 11 Augmented Campus 182
- 12 Siri, Tutor Me 189
- 13 Retro Campus 196

To the Future and the Present

- 14** Beyond 2035 205
- 15** Back to the Present 220

Notes 241

Index 325

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These and others are the source of this book's intelligence and reflection. All errors and lapses are solely my own.

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Introduction

The biggest threat those of us working in colleges and universities face isn't video lectures or online tests. It's the fact that we live in institutions perfectly adapted to an environment that no longer exists.

Clay Shirky

What is happening to American higher education? How will it change in the years to come?

The future of higher education is a popular topic in news media, prompting headlines and reports pitched to various degrees of concern. We frequently read, watch, or listen to stories of skyrocketing tuition, epochal levels of debt, and doomed or culturally destructive students. Grim stories of layoffs and campus closures cross nearly all forms of news media, from print newspapers to podcasts.

Naturally, the topic is one that many of us involved in higher education passionately pursue. Would-be college students wonder about debt and careers, as do their families. Professors ponder the fate of their campuses and their own positions. Staff and administrators strategize in a time of increasing anxiety and doubt.

For years, educators, analysts, policymakers, business leaders, and other interested people have publicly proclaimed or investigated the future of colleges and universities. They have imagined new forms of learning and called for innovative programs, centers, and campuses. Some have wielded government power to reshape academia, while

others have reformed institutions directly or booted up new enterprises from scratch.

At times the future of colleges and universities seems to be in doubt. Over the past decade student loan debt has ballooned beyond \$1 trillion while tuitions have soared. Campuses have closed departments, reduced faculty, merged, or even shut down. Technological innovations offer new opportunities for learning while threatening the business models of established campuses. Total undergraduate enrollments have dropped for nearly a decade. Anxieties abound about campus politics and the value of degrees.

And yet American universities remain sought after and respected worldwide. Students travel to these campuses from all continents except Antarctica, and we send researchers and students there anyway. In a sense higher education is one of America's most brilliant and rewarding exports. Faculty members continue to publish discoveries that expand human knowledge and enrich lives. College sports remain crucial cultural touchstones and, occasionally, profitable businesses. More Americans than ever before have had at least some post-secondary education, while the national consensus is that even more people should attend college.

We seem, in short, to be entering an uncertain and chaotic period for colleges and universities. Possibilities of excellence and extinction stand in conflict. Faculty, staff, and students develop some of the same technologies that return to challenge the survival of academia as we know it. Stories of abuse, corruption, inequality, and violence appear in the news alongside accounts of personal growth, social benefit, intellectual exploration, and human possibility. As of this writing, there is no consensus as to where American higher education is headed.

The desire to guide education's next decades has grown in recent years. The future has also become darker and more urgent, especially after the 2008 financial disaster. That economic spasm sent many more people into colleges and universities to improve their chances of getting scarce jobs, while gutting endowments and stressing cam-

pus finances to their limits. Escalating debt drew more scrutiny as family budgets tightened, even while interest rates plummeted.

The recovery that followed was halting and uneven, and it is still not complete in 2019. In the meantime student debt has soared and enrollments decreased. More attention—but not nearly enough—has been paid to the fact that most professors are part-timers, hired and fired at will and far too often working in poverty. Meanwhile, many Republicans and even a majority of Democrats think higher education is heading down the wrong path. The national mood for education reform has persisted, even across states and political parties.¹

This past decade has also seen the continued development and expansion of the digital revolution. In one way, we may be living in the greatest time in human history for learners, but it has been a challenging time for academic institutions. Thanks to the creation and sharing of digital content through the Internet, would-be learners have access to more materials and experts than ever before. Encyclopedia entries, videos, audio lectures, personal blogs written by experts, courses, textbooks, games, galleries, and entire libraries await the inquiring mind. Yet this educational bonanza has not translated into vibrancy for postsecondary institutions. Instead we speak of higher education as being in crisis, under threat, or a bubble about to burst. Meanwhile, we are also increasingly concerned about Silicon Valley's many misdeeds, from privacy violations to cynical business models, endless data breaches, and collateral damage affecting numerous industries and perhaps even democracy itself.

This book examines the future of American higher education in the age of information plentitude and sustainability stress. It offers forecasts for how these vital institutions are changing over the next generation. The basis for this work lies in the present, as I examine the real world of colleges and universities and the contexts that shape them for clues as to the emerging future. I identify drivers of change, based on objective evidence, and then proceed to informed speculation about what trends those colleges and universities will craft later in the twenty-first century.

Strong and radical challenges lie ahead for colleges and universities. We will likely see more campuses shrink, merge, or close. Higher education's reputation could continue to decline. Many institutions will choose to reinvent themselves, a process fraught with stresses, human suffering, and failure. Demographics and economics appear poised to drive massive changes to campuses known for their steadfast identities. Multiple political pressures can whipsaw administrators, faculty, and students. Rapid scientific and technological innovation threatens to reboot nearly every aspect of college life, while driving deeper changes through human civilization itself.

It is only by taking these trends seriously that colleges and universities can improve their chances of survival. Institutional flourishing now requires a future-oriented mind-set. We need the practice and imagination that strategic foresight provides, along with a willingness to thoughtfully experiment, in order to shoot the rapids that loom before us. Otherwise American higher education confronts chronically crisis-oriented budgeting, shrinkage, decline, cuts to operations and staff, program reductions, and merged or closed institutions.

To seriously explore the future of American higher education, it is vital to consider the sector in its entirety. This may seem self-evident, especially to an outside observer, but such examination is actually rarely done, despite—or because of—the sheer size of the sector. There are roughly 4,300 colleges and universities in the United States (or closer to 6,500, depending on whether one counts certain for-profit institutions, and how many survive at a given time).² Many discussions of academia focus on one sector within the whole, or even on a small group of campuses. Such work is useful on its own terms but can easily miss the bigger picture. A casual glance at books and articles published about higher education over the past twenty years reveals various claims about all colleges and universities, but many of them speak solely from the perspective of several research universities or a handful of liberal arts campuses. Community colleges, which educate more people than any other segment of higher education, are

rarely mentioned, especially in discussions of sky-high tuition, free speech on campus, or lavish residence halls. For-profit education, which boomed in the 1990s and 2000s, is even harder to find represented. Geographically, northeastern campuses often receive the lion's share of attention, even as the traditional-age population there declines and despite the rich, nationwide panoply of higher learning. Historically black colleges and universities are almost invisible.

This book considers the full range of postsecondary education. It is an approach partially based on the unusual trajectory of my career. A three-time graduate from a major public research university (Michigan), I taught at a small liberal art campus (Centenary College of Louisiana) and went on to teach at a private Jesuit research university (Georgetown). In between the last two positions I worked for a nonprofit (National Institute of Technology in Liberal Education) that connected hundreds of small colleges across the country, many considered liberal arts institutions. Some are religious schools, other secular; some focus on teaching while others zero in on research, and still others combine the two. Some are local in their recruiting and outreach focus, while others are regional, national, or international in scope. Starting around 2010, I began working as well with community colleges, for-profits, state universities, state systems, and military universities. Several of these exist completely online, while others actively resist the digital world, and many occupy a position in between. I have also worked with academia-focused think tanks, professional organizations, government agencies, and businesses, not to mention public libraries and library associations. Many of these entities exist in the United States, while some are in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, and Latin America. At every step of the way I have talked with people occupying all positions in these organizations: presidents, trustees, librarians, students, grants officers, security guards, state legislators, lawyers, chief financial officers, and more. All of these encounters have given me an unusual perspective on American higher education, and I try to echo that viewpoint in the chapters that follow.

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her unjust and untrue assertions, considering how much more graciously we have dealt with her than she could with any judgment or reason expect, if we had proportioned our favour with her own demerits. You may take occasion to point out to her those our deserts and benefits with her many ingratitude in recompense for them, which is conform to a special note from our secretary which shall be delivered to you. Lastly, in case you shall find her desirous to communicate with either of you apart under a pretence of revealing any matter or secret of weight to be delivered to us concerning either ourselves or our service, we think it not amiss that you conform yourselves to her desire, and thereby, if you find cause, to advise us before your return, which we leave to your discretion.

“ELIZABETH R.”

This is probably the most startling official paper to be found during the period covered by our narrative. It is pure fiction and was written a month after Queen Mary's trial. The first question that arises is this: Was Elizabeth connected directly or indirectly with the interpolations on these letters, and if so, to what extent? She was much too clever a woman to commit anything to writing that would incriminate herself. We have evidence that Walsingham, her secretary, was the writer of them, and that he paid Phillips to open the letters surreptitiously, copy them, and on the copies introduce the interpolations. The originals were evidently destroyed, for they were never seen again. [\[11\]](#)

Could anyone suppose that this momentous proceeding was going on without the knowledge of the English Queen? Such a supposition would be impossible. Walsingham was a daily visitor at court and Elizabeth's paid secretary. It would have been as much as his life was worth to negotiate this diabolical plot unknown to his mistress, and particularly as every movement in connection with the Queen of Scots had to be communicated to her. It was a case where she reserved to herself exclusively the privilege of giving every order,

with no intention whatever of consulting her responsible ministers or her Privy Council. In this particular matter they were merely figureheads. Walsingham, therefore, whose character we have already described, was in this case nothing but a puppet in the hands of a powerful and unscrupulous woman, stronger than himself. If he had an audience of her daily no correspondence between them would be necessary. The spies employed were Walsingham's servants. Their object was to inveigle Mary into a crime that was punishable with death. Walsingham having failed to get Babington's consent to Elizabeth's assassination, and thereby compromise the Scottish Queen, evidently resolved on the other alternative, and manufactured the material which Phillips introduced into the letters. The circumstantial evidence is too strong to permit of Elizabeth's escape from the responsibility. The actual extent to which she was compromised we shall probably never know, but it is a fair and reasonable deduction from the correspondence, as now disclosed, to say that she and Walsingham were responsible for connecting Mary with the plot against her life. There is no proof against Mary that will stand investigation, and no proof at all save forged and interpolated letters (see pp. 228-40). It was, in plain language, a cunning plot by Elizabeth against Elizabeth to encompass the Scottish Queen in a false conspiracy against her life.



SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,
Secretary to Queen Elizabeth.

The foregoing paper containing instructions to Buckhurst, the outcome of this plot, we shall proceed to analyse. For audacity and unblushing falsehood it is almost without precedent. It proceeds on the assumption that the duplicity of the writer would not be found out, and we have no evidence that during her lifetime, or for long after, it was found out. The first paragraph takes us back to the beginning of Mary's captivity, and considering the length of that

captivity and the treatment Mary experienced, the paragraph and its charges may be regarded as sheer imagination, to which the innocence of Mary has given the lie. The second paragraph requires Buckhurst to explain the cause of his mission, the entire responsibility of which Elizabeth put on the shoulders of her lords and commissioners, who, she says, gave sentence against Mary unanimously! This almost takes away one's breath. The reader will take note that the sentence was written out by Elizabeth, handed by her to her ministers with a command to make it their finding notwithstanding Mary's guilt or innocence. No one dared to offer a word against it, or in short to have any opinion of his own; otherwise it might have cost him his life. As regards Nau and Curie, their evidence was obtained by the rack, and is of no value. The third paragraph orders the execution, with the hypocritical reasons which led to it, in all of which the wish is father to the thought, and plainly indicates the mind of Elizabeth. The conspiracy trick was an excellent trump card for such a woman to play against Mary, and by that means get quit of a rival whom of all the women in the world she knew to be superior to herself in every accomplishment. No woman could frequent the court of Elizabeth who was superior to her in these respects. We have a proof of this in the famous interview between her and Sir James Melville in 1564, when Melville's ingenuity was taxed to the uttermost to acknowledge Elizabeth's accomplishments against his will. The fourth paragraph may be considered as perjury and hypocrisy and a repetition of the unblushing falsehoods already expressed. The fifth paragraph doubtless was intended to convey to Mary some idea of the saintly conduct of Elizabeth and the wicked conduct of Mary, which reminds us of the Pharisee in the Hebrew story. The commissioners were to let her know "how much in respect of her degree, calling, and nearness in blood to us, have moved us to take the course we have done in sending our chief nobility to try her case." Whether this sentimental and insulting message was conveyed to Mary is not recorded, but the probability is it was not. The sixth paragraph is an "instruction" to the captive that as she has no case she is not to abuse the plaintiff. If she attempted to justify herself before the

commissioners she was to be told what was equivalent to an insult: "how much she is to blame to wrong us in honour with her unjust and untrue assertions." This was before any assertions were made! Obviously the English Queen was not endowed with the common feelings of humanity. If we wished to get a side-light into her character this paper would afford us as much information as we require.

On the same day, 16th November, Queen Elizabeth wrote Paulet, authorising him to allow the commissioners an interview with Mary:

"We have thought it convenient, for sundry reasons, to send Lord Buckhurst and Beale to acquaint the Queen your charge, as well with the proceedings of the commissioners since their departure from Fotheringay, as with what hath been lately done in Parliament concerning the commissioners' proceedings. Our pleasure is that you permit them to have access to the said Queen, hoping in God that before they repair thither you will be restored to that good state of health, so that you may be able to assist and join them in the present service committed to them. And in case the said Queen shall desire to have any conference apart, upon pretence to reveal some secret matter to be communicated to us, either with Lord Buckhurst or with any one of our servants, we are willing to assent thereto if she shall request the same; otherwise we could best like that you should be present when any such remarks should be delivered."

When Parliament ordained the sentence to be carried out, Elizabeth was the more overjoyed at it as she believed herself thereby cleared, while she had accomplished her brutal purpose; and she took care to hint that but for the love of her people she could never have made up her mind to sign the death-warrant of Mary Stuart! She said, "I must tell you one thing, that by the last Act of Parliament you have reduced me to such straits and perplexities that I must resolve upon the punishment of her who is a princess, so nearly allied to me in blood, and whose practices against me have so

deeply affected me with grief and sorrow that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament lest I should increase my trouble by hearing the matter mentioned, and not out of fear of any danger or treacherous attempts against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a further secret (though it be not usual with me to blab forth in other cases what I know). It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month. Hereby I see your danger in my person, which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off.”^[12]

The unabated energy shown in the espionage of the Scottish Queen is evident from Paulet's letter to Walsingham under date 21st November 1586:—

“My letter to Her Majesty enclosed herein will be, I doubt not, imparted to you; and although it pleaseth you to impute her intended liberality to my servants and soldiers to the report of Stallenge, yet I am persuaded that the same hath proceeded of your favour towards me and mine; wherein you have bound me very much, and indeed I thank you for it as for a singular benefit. I do not remember, and I think I may be bold to deny, that I have at any time left this lady in her passionate speeches. I have said to Stallenge, and it is very true that in former times I have observed this course: to have as little talk with her as I might. Lately, following your direction, I have given her full scope to say what she would; and yet at some times, finding no matter to come from her worthy of notice, I have departed from her, as otherwise she would never have left me; and I am deceived if Lord Buckhurst will not give the same testimony of her tediousness.”

At this crisis the conduct of James VI. surprised many of the friends of Mary. He was indifferent about his mother, because he was shaping his policy to succeed Elizabeth, and to do so he must not quarrel with her. A judicious and well-expressed letter on the subject was sent by Henry III. of France to Courcelles, his Ambassador. It

was intended that this letter should be put before James, which doubtless was done, but for the reason stated was not acted upon. It is believed he could have saved his mother's life, but he was a selfish young man, and from all reports indifferent to his mother's circumstances, he never having seen her since he was an infant. The letter from the French King is full of sympathy, with every expression of anxiety for the sad and pitiful condition of the unfortunate Mary. It bears date, St. Germain, 21st November 1586:—

“I have received your letter of 4th October informing me of the conversation which passed between you and the King of Scotland on your expressing to him the sincere affection I bear him, by which he seems to have an earnest desire to correspond with me entirely; but I wish that letter had also informed me that he were better disposed towards the Queen his mother, and that he had the heart and the will to do everything to assist her in her present affliction, considering that the captivity in which she has been unjustly held for eighteen years and more might have induced him to listen to the many proposals which have been made to him for obtaining her liberty, which is naturally most desirable to all men, but more particularly to those who are born sovereigns and to command others, who are more impatient of being thus detained prisoners. He ought also to think that if the Queen of England should follow the advice of those who desire her to imbrue her hands in the blood of his mother, it will be a great stain on his reputation, inasmuch as it will be thought that he has withheld the good offices which he ought to render her with the Queen of England, which might be sufficient to move her if he had employed them as early and as warmly as natural affection commanded. It is much to be feared that in case of the death of his mother there may be hereafter some scheme for acting the same violent part towards him, to render his accession to the throne of England more easily attainable by those who have it in their power to secure it after the Queen of England, and not only to deprive the King of Scotland of the right that he may claim to it, but render doubtful that which he has to the crown of Scotland. I know not in what state the affairs of my sister-in-law (Queen Mary) may

be when this reaches you, but I desire you will endeavour to excite the King of Scotland by these remonstrances and any others that can bear on this subject, to take up the defence and protection of his mother; and tell him in my name that this is a thing for which he will be highly praised by all other kings and sovereign princes, and that he may be assured if he fails in this, great blame will attach to him and perhaps great injury ensue to himself."

In the circumstances this was a noble letter, but on James it was quite lost. He had been repeatedly asked to befriend his mother, but we have no evidence that he ever did so. With him "the love of money was the root of all evil," for he was constantly in want of money. Elizabeth aided him, and in fact controlled him; but that was no reason for allowing his mother to be murdered when he could have prevented it. King Henry III. of France behaved to Queen Mary as a brother and exerted himself more than anyone else to save her. But what is to be said of her son, on whom this eloquent letter of the King of France was lost!

It is evident from the conduct of Elizabeth that Mary's life could not have been saved except by military force, and nothing should have prevented James from appealing to arms. The kings of France and Spain would have given him the necessary assistance. The more we know of James the less do we feel enthusiasm for him.

On 23rd November 1586 sentence of death was communicated to Queen Mary by Buckhurst, by order of Elizabeth. It does not appear that Mary was surprised by the announcement; it would rather appear that for some time she had been daily in expectation of it. To an ordinary individual the intimation would have been overwhelming, it would have crushed him to the earth. Mary, however, was made of sterner stuff. She had an overflow of spirits, which during her captivity did her great service and was a great factor in preventing her falling into melancholy. It may be said that her brilliant spirit never left her, but carried her through all her troubles up to their final termination. On the very day when she received this crushing

intimation she sat down and wrote a long and beautiful letter to the Pope, a letter which His Holiness could not read without emotion. She also wrote to the Duke of Guise. These letters have been preserved and are as follows (slightly condensed):—

23rd November 1586, Fotheringay:

"Holy Father; And so it is that it has pleased God by his divine providence to make an order in his Church by which he has willed that under His Son Jesus Christ crucified all those who should believe in Him and be baptized in name of the Holy Trinity should acknowledge one universal and Catholic Church....

"I have been unable to give due testimony to your Holiness in consequence of my detention in this captivity together with my long illness, but now that it has pleased God to permit for my sins and those of this unfortunate island that I should be, after twenty years of captivity, shut up in a close prison and at last condemned to die by the Government and heretical Parliament of this country: as it has been signified to me today by Lord Buckhurst, Amias Paulet, my keeper, one Sir Drew Drury, and a secretary named Beale, in name of their Queen commanding me to prepare to receive death, offering me one of their bishops and a Dean for my consolation, a priest whom I had having been by them long ago taken from me and kept I know not where, in their hands. I have considered it to be my first duty to turn myself to God, and then with my hand to signify all to your Holiness, that although I cannot make you hear it before my death, at least after it the cause of it may be manifest to you; which is, the whole well sifted and considered, for the subversion of their religion in this island alleged by them to be by me designed and in my favour attempted both by their own subjects obedient to your laws, their declared enemies, and by strangers, in particular the Catholic princes and my relations, who all maintain my right to the crown of England, causing me to be named as such in their prayers in the churches. I leave to your Holiness to consider the consequences of this opinion, supplicating you to cause prayer to be offered for my poor soul; and of all those who have died or shall die

for the same and the like opinions. And also in honour of God to distribute of your alms, and instigate the kings to do the same, to those who shall remain alive from this shipwreck. My intention being to confess, to do penance so far as is in me, and receive my viaticum if I can obtain my chaplain or other lawful minister to administer to me my last sacrament, as in default of this with a contrite and penitent heart I prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness, confessing myself to God and to His saints a most unworthy sinner, and deserving of eternal damnation, if it please not the good God who died for sinners to receive me by His infinite mercy to the number of poor sinners penitent by His grace. Entreating you to accept this my general submission and as a testimony of my intention to fulfil the rest in the form ordained and commanded by the Church and to give me your general absolution....

"I entreat your Holiness to impetrate from the most Christian King that my jointure may be charged with the payment of my debts and the wages of my poor desolate servants, and with an annual obit for my soul and those of all my brethren deceased in this just quarrel; having had no other private intention, as my poor servants present at this my affliction will testify to you, and how I have willingly offered my life in their heretical assembly to maintain my religion, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, and bring back the devout of this island; protesting in this case that I would willingly demit all title and dignity of Queen, and do all service and duty to theirs, if she would cease to persecute the Catholics, as I protest that this is the object at which I have aimed since I have been in this country, and have no ambition or desire to reign or dispossess others for my own sake, being by sickness and long affliction so weakened that I have no more desire to trouble myself in this world than with the service of His Church and the gaining of the souls of this island to God. For evidence of which at my end I would not fail to prefer the public safety to the private interest of flesh and blood, which makes me beseech you, with a mortal regret for the perdition of my poor child, after having by all means endeavoured to retrieve him, being to him

a true father as St. John the Evangelist was to the youth whom he recalled from the company of the robbers, to take at last all the authority over him which I can give you to constrain him, and to call on the Catholic King to assist you in what relates to temporal matters, and especially together to endeavour to unite him by marriage. And if God for my sins permits him to be obstinate, knowing no Christian prince at this time who exerts himself so much for the faith, nor possesses such means of assisting in the reduction of this island, as the Catholic King to whom I am so much indebted, he being the only one who has assisted me with his money and advice in my necessities, under your good pleasure I leave him all the rights or interest which I can have in the government of this kingdom. Should my son remain obstinately out of the Church; whom if he can be brought back I desire to be by him and my kinsmen of Guise assisted, supported, and advised, enjoining him by my last will to consider them after you as fathers, and to ally himself by their advice and consent and with one of these two houses, and if it should please God I wish him worthy to be a son of the Catholic King. You shall have the true recital of the manner of my last struggle and all the proceedings against me and by me, so that, knowing the truth, the calumnies which the enemies of the Church would fasten on me may be by you refuted and the truth known. [\[13\]](#)

“MARIE R.”

Queen Mary at the same time wrote to the Duke of Guise, Fotheringay, 23rd Nov. 1586:—

“You whom I hold most dear in the world I bid you farewell, being on the point of being put to death by an unjust judgment, such a one as never any belonging to our race yet suffered, much less one of my rank. But praise God, my good cousin; for, situated as I have been, I was useless to the world in the cause of God and his Church; but I hope that my death will bear witness of my constancy in the faith and my readiness to die for the support and restoration of the

Catholic Church in this unfortunate island. And though executioner never yet dipped his hand in our blood, be not ashamed, my friend; for the judgment of these heretics and enemies of the Church, and who have no jurisdiction over me, a free Queen, is profitable before God to the children of His Church, which, had I not adhered to, this stroke had been spared me. All those of our house have been persecuted by this sect; witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received in mercy by the just Judge. I recommend then to you all my poor servants, the discharge of my debts, and the founding of some annual obit for my soul; not at your expense, but to make such solicitation and arrangements as shall be requisite to fulfil my intentions, which you will be informed of by my poor disconsolate servants, eye-witnesses of this my last tragedy. May God prosper your wife, children, brothers, and cousins, and all belonging to them. May the blessing of God and that which I should give to my own children be upon yours, whom I commend to God not less sincerely than my own unfortunate and deluded son. You will receive tokens (rings) from me to remind you to have prayers said for the soul of your poor cousin, destitute of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage to withstand alone so many wolves howling after me; to God be the glory! Believe in particular a person who will give you in my name a ruby ring, for I assure you upon my conscience that this person will tell you the truth agreeably to my desire, especially as to what concerns my poor servants and the share of each. I have suffered much for the last two years and upwards, but have not been able to inform you of it for an important reason. God be praised for all things, and may He give you grace to persevere in the service of His Church so long as you live, and may that honour never depart from our race, that all of us may be ready to shed our blood in the defence of the faith regardless of all other worldly interests. For my own part, I think myself born both on the father's and mother's side to offer up my blood for it, and have no intention to degenerate. May Jesus crucified for us and all the holy martyrs render us by their intercession worthy of the free-will offering of our bodies for His glory. Thinking to degrade me, they took down my canopy, and my keeper afterwards came and offered

to write to the Queen, saying that this act had not been done by her command but by the advice of some of her council. I showed them on the canopy, in place of my coat of arms, the cross of my Saviour. You will be informed of all that was said; they have since been more indulgent.

"MARIE R. of Scotland,
Dowager of France."

CHAPTER V

Queen Mary's letter to Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador informing him of the sentence of death, her submission to it, and her references to Paulet's treatment of her—Her letter to Mendoza, 21st May 1586—Her remarkable letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow asserting her innocence of every charge against her, and her rebuke to the commissioners "that she would die a Queen in spite of them"—Her letter to Elizabeth with her requests regarding her death and interment—The Commendator of Pittenweem and King James—Letter of Bellievre, Chancellor of France, to Mary, 14th December 1586—The graphic interview of Bellievre and Chateauneuf with Elizabeth, when they demanded of her with a threat to spare Mary's life, or take the consequences—Elizabeth loses her temper.

ON the same day on which Queen Mary wrote to the Pope and to her uncle, the Duke of Guise, she also wrote to her devoted friends Don Bernard de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Archbishop of Glasgow. These letters, which we reproduce, were evidently written under deep emotion, and must have caused inexpressible grief to the friends who received them. There seems no doubt that Mary was quite estranged from her son for some time before her death. He was entirely under the control and in receipt of a pension from Elizabeth, which would account for it. Mary felt his conduct acutely; and not later than 21st May 1586 she wrote a private letter to the Spanish Ambassador (also given), in which her feelings on the subject are remarkably and excitedly expressed, even to the extent of handing her rights (if any) in the Scottish crown to the King of Spain, if her son continued in his present course of conduct. Mary has been taken to task for this letter by some of her enemies, who would make out, in defending her execution, that she sold the crown to the King of Spain. She wrote the letter in trying circumstances. The offer was simply to express how keenly she felt hurt by the

behaviour of her son. There was nothing more in the letter than that. As a matter of fact, Mary had no rights in the crown to give away, but her enemies chose not to recognise this. We have not attempted to condense the two letters referred to—that to Mendoza and that to the Archbishop. They form a very important chapter in the last days of her life, and are letters that cannot be overlooked in surveying her history. A deliberate perusal of them will strengthen one's belief in the forgery of the letters in the appendix of this volume. The sentence we have put in italics in the letter to the Archbishop is a convincing proof of the Queen's innocence as regards the conspiracy against Elizabeth's life. We must remember that this was amongst the last letters she ever wrote, and after she had received sentence of death.

Queen Mary to Don Bernard de Mendoza, 23rd November 1586:—

"Having ever found you zealous in the cause of God, and desirous of my welfare and deliverance from captivity, I have always communicated to you my intentions upon that subject, begging you to make them known to the King my brother. For this reason I now write to bid you a last adieu, notwithstanding the little leisure I have, being about to receive the stroke of death which was announced to me on Saturday last, I do not know when or in what manner; but at least you may praise God for me that through His grace I have had the heart to receive this unjust sentence of heretics with resignation, on account of the happiness which I esteem it to shed my blood at the requisition of the enemies of His Church, who do me the honour to say that it cannot be subverted while I am alive, and also that their Queen cannot reign in safety in the same predicament. As for these two conditions I have accepted without contradiction the high honour they confer upon me as one most zealous for the Catholic religion, for which I have publicly offered my life; and as for the other, although I have never committed either act or deed tending to take off her who was on the throne, unless it be that they make a crime of my right to the crown, which is acknowledged by all

Catholics, yet I would not contradict them, leaving them to think as they please. This annoyed them much, and they told me that whatever I may say or do, it will not be for the cause of religion that I shall die, but for having endeavoured to murder their Queen. This I denied as being utterly false, having never attempted any such thing, and leaving it to God and the Church to dispose of this island in what relates to religion. The bearer of this has promised to relate to you how rigorously I have been treated by those here and how ill served by others whom I did not expect to have shown so great a fear of death in so just a quarrel. They have not been able to draw anything from me but that I am a Queen, free, Catholic, and obedient to the Church, and that not being able to effect my deliverance by fair means, I was compelled to seek it by those which presented themselves. Nau then confessed all; Curle has in a great measure followed his example; so that everything turns against me. I am threatened if I do not beg pardon, but I say that 'As they had already destined me to die, they may proceed with their injustice, hoping that God will recompense me in another world;' and out of spite because I will speak, they came yesterday and took down my canopy, saying that I was no more than a dead woman and without any rank. They are at present working in my hall, erecting the scaffold, I suppose, whereon I am to perform the last act of this tragedy. I die in a just cause, and am happy in having made over my rights to the King your master. I have said that I consider him, should my son not return into the bosom of the Church, as being a prince most worthy to govern and protect this island. I have written to the same purpose to His Holiness, and I beg you to assure him that I die in the determination which I have communicated to you, and also another whom you know, to be his dearest and most intimate friend, and a fourth, and those above all others I bequeath to the protection of the King, beseeching him in God's name not to abandon them, and entreating them to serve him in place of me. As I cannot write to them, greet them in my name, and pray to God all of you for my soul. I have asked for a priest, but do not know if my request will be granted. They have offered me one of their bishops, but I positively refused him. You may believe all that the bearer of

this shall tell you, and also those two poor girls who have been immediately about my person. They will tell you the truth, which I beg you to make public, as I fear that a very different interpretation will be given. Order a mass to be said for deliverance and repose of my soul—you know the place I mean—and let the churches in Spain remember me in their prayers. You will receive from me as a token of my remembrance a diamond which I have held very dear, having been given to me by the late Duke of Norfolk as a pledge of his troth, and I have always worn it as such; keep it for my sake. I do not know that I shall have leave to make a will. I have applied for it, but they have all my money. Excuse what I write in sorrow and trouble, not having anyone to help me to make my rough drafts and to write for me. If you cannot read my hand, the bearer will read it for you, or my Ambassador. Among other accusations, that of Crichton is one which I know nothing of. I fear greatly that Nau and Pasquier have hastened my death, having kept some papers; and they are men who will turn on any side for their own advantage. Once more, adieu. I recommend to you my poor and henceforth destitute servants, and pray for my soul. I recommend to you the Bishop of Ross, who will be wholly destitute?

“MARIE R.”

Queen Mary to Mendoza, 21st May 1586:—

“I am in trouble as to what will be the course of events this side. Charles Paget is instructed by me to communicate some overtures on my behalf, concerning which I beg you to inform him without reserve what you think can be obtained from the King your master. There is another point connected with that which I have kept to write to you alone, that you may send word from me to your said lord the King without if possible anyone having knowledge of it. It is that, considering the very great obstinacy of my son in his heresy, I have determined, that in case he does not conform to the Catholic religion before my death—as I must tell you I have little hope of his doing so so long as he stays in Scotland—I yield and give up my

right, by will at my decease, to this crown, to the King your master, begging him by means of this to quietly take beforehand under his complete protection both the State and affairs of this country, which for the clearing of my conscience I do not think I can put into the hands of a prince more zealous for our religion and more capable in every respect of re-establishing it this side, so as to be of great importance to the rest of Christianity. Let this be kept secret, more especially as if it came to be known it would mean in France the loss of my dowry, and in Scotland entire rupture with my son; in this country my utter ruin and destruction?

“MARIE R.”

Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Fotheringay, 24th November 1586:—

“After having deferred for a long time on account of the imminent danger of the undertaker, at last I have consented to the proposition which has often been made to me to escape. You will hear what has happened from the doctor and other servants, who till now are left to me, I know not for how long, nor whether I can have leisure to make my will. And having that, I do not know if I shall have power, all my money and papers having been taken away, and having nobody to help me to write, although I have asked to have my almoner, that being more suitable if it could be done; but I have had no answer. If that is refused, will you entreat His Holiness, the most Christian King, the King of Spain, the Duke of Lorraine, and other Christian friends my relations, that my papers and money be restored, also the furniture which has not been distributed to my servants, in order that my conscience may be relieved towards my poor servants and creditors. You will find this language strange if you have not been told by Buckhurst, Amias Paulet, Drew Drury, and Beale, that the Assembly of Estates has condemned me to death, and they have declared it to me on the part of their Queen, exhorting me to confess and acknowledge my offences towards her. And in order to incite me to die well and patiently and to discharge

my conscience, she proposed to send me a bishop and Dean, saying that her people have made constant requests for my death, considering that I being still alive and her rival, as it would appear by my having taken the name and arms of her crown, and not willing to give them up except on condition of being declared next heir to the throne, she could not live secure in her kingdom; also being called by the Catholics their Sovereign, her life had been so often attempted for this end, that so long as I live her religion was not secure in her kingdom. I thanked God and them for the honour they had done me in considering me such a necessary instrument for re-establishment of religion in this island, of which, although unworthy, I wished to consider myself a very zealous defender. In witness of which (as I had before protested) I offered voluntarily to shed my blood in the quarrel of the Catholic Church, and if the people thought that my life would help the welfare and peace of this island, I would not refuse to give it as a reward for the twenty years they have kept me prisoner. As to their bishops, I praise God that without them I know well enough my offences towards God and the Church, that I do not approve of their errors, and wish to have no communication with them. If it please them to allow me a Catholic priest, I said I would accept it willingly, even demanding it in the name of Jesus Christ in order to satisfy my conscience and participate in the holy sacraments on leaving this world. They told me I had done well, but do what I would I could not be either saint or martyr, as I was to die for conspiring against their Queen and for having wished to dispossess her. I answered that I was not so presuming as to aspire to these two honours, but whilst they had power over my body by divine permission, not by justice, I was a Sovereign Queen, as I had always protested. Still they had not power over my soul, nor could they prevent me from hoping that by the mercy of God who died for me He will accept from me my blood and my life, which I offer Him for the welfare of His Church. Besides, neither here nor elsewhere would I wish to rule over a worldly kingdom and thereby lose the eternal kingdom. And I shall beg of Him that the grief and other persecutions of mind and body which I suffer may be set against my sins. *But to have conspired,*

counselled, or ordered Elizabeth's death, that I have never done; nor would I permit on my part that even one single blow [one snap of the fingers is the original] should be given her. Oh! said they, you have counselled and permitted the English to name you as their Sovereign, as appears by the letters to Alan, and Doctors Lewis and others, and this you have not contradicted; to which I answered that I had taken nothing upon myself in my letters, but hindering the doctors and ecclesiastics from naming me at their pleasure was not my province, being obedient to the Church, approving what she decreed but not correcting her. And I said the same in regard to His Holiness if, as they declared, he made me be prayed for everywhere under a title of which I was ignorant. In any case, I wished to die and to obey the Church, but not to murder anyone in order to possess his rights. In all this I saw clearly the pursuit of Saul against David, but I cannot escape like him by the window, although from the shedding of my blood protectors may arise for the sufferers in this general quarrel. In short, the day before yesterday Paulet returned with Drury much more modest than gracious, to tell me that, having been warned to prepare myself to confess my fault towards the Queen, I had shown no repentance nor feeling of my fault, and he had therefore commanded that they should take away my daïs in order to signify that I was a woman who had died without any honour or dignity as Queen. I answered that God had called me by His grace to this dignity, and I had been anointed and consecrated justly, and that from Him alone I held it, to Him alone should I render it with my soul; that I did not recognise their Queen as my superior nor her council and heretical assembly as my judges; that I should die Queen in spite of them, and that they had no more power over me than robbers at the corner of a wood had over the most just prince or earthly judge, but I hoped that God would show His justice after my death upon this kingdom. The kings of this country had often been murdered, and it would not be strange for me to be amongst them and those of their blood. King Richard had been treated thus in order to take away his rights. After these proposals, seeing that my servants would not lend a hand, all refusing boldly, even the poor girls crying aloud for vengeance upon

him and his company, he called seven or eight satellites and destroyed the daïs, sat down and put on his hat, and informed me there would be no more time for exercise and pastime, and thereupon made them take away a billiard-table. I said thank God I have never used it since it was erected; I had always plenty of other occupations. I assembled yesterday my little troupe to repeat to them my protestation in respect of religion and the things they had laid to my charge, such as having distributed the estates, and other lies. Also I charged them all before God to tell you of all my behaviour and that of the others in this matter. I remit to Messieurs de Lorraine and de Guise, and all our relatives, everything necessary for the safety of my soul, the discharge of my conscience, and reparation of my honour, and that of those to whom I belong, which by my death they will put under their feet, not reproaching me alone but my cousin de Guise and all his relations for having given money for her death. I say, and it is true, that I know nothing of it and believe nothing of it.... I am content, and have always been, to give my life for the safety of the souls of this island. Adieu for the last time, and remember the soul and honour of her who has been your Queen, your mistress, and your friend, and if I have had any offence against you I pardon it, and beg of you and all my servants to pardon what I may have done amiss, just or unjust, protesting that I believe you guiltless in everything towards me, but you specially, as the principal and oldest of my servants. I feel myself obliged to recognise your services if God allowed me to live longer; failing that, I shall pray God to the end of my life to recompense you instead of me. May God be with you and with my servants whom I leave as my children.—Your affectionate and good mistress,

MARIE R."

James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's devoted friend, was resident in France during the greater part of her captivity.

After the communication of the death-sentence Queen Mary employed her time in arranging her worldly affairs and in preparation

for her removal. That was a task that was difficult of accomplishment, as she had estates in Scotland and in France, the actual extent of which we have no means of knowing, but we have reason to believe that they were in each case large and not easily handled. On account of the arrogant and obstreperous conduct of the English Queen, we have no assurance that any of Mary's final directions were attended to. An illustration of this conduct will serve our purpose, and this will best be understood by the reproduction of the following letter:—

Queen Mary to Elizabeth, November 1586:

"I thank God with all my heart that it has pleased Him through you to put an end to the troublesome pilgrimage of my life. I do not ask that it may be prolonged, for I have only had too much time to experience its bitterness. I only ask your Majesty, for I cannot expect any favour from those zealous ministers who hold the highest rank in England. It is only from you, and not from any other, that I expect the following favour:—*First*, I beg of you, as I cannot hope for a burial in England according to the Catholic rites practised by the ancient kings your ancestors and mine, and as in Scotland they have desecrated the ashes of my forefathers where my enemies wish to tarnish my innocent blood, that my body may be carried by my servants to be buried in some holy ground, preferably in France, where the bones of my honoured mother the Queen repose; so that this poor body, which has never had any peace since it was joined to my soul, may find it at last when the two are separated. *Second*, I beg your Majesty, because of the fear that I have of the tyranny of those to whom you have abandoned me, that I may not be executed in a secret place, but in the sight of my servants and others, who can witness my faith and obedience towards the true Church, and defend the end of my life and my last moments against the false reports that my enemies would circulate. *Third*, I require that my servants that have served me with so much grief and so much fidelity may freely retire where they will and enjoy the pittance that my poverty has left them in my will. I entreat of you, madam, by the

blood of Jesus Christ, by our relationship, by the memory of Henry VII., our common father, and by the title of Queen which I bear to my death, that you will not refuse such reasonable demands, and that you will assure me by card from your own hand. Thereupon I die as I have lived, your affectionate sister and prisoner,

MARIE R."

These humane requests were refused by Queen Elizabeth, and though the statement seems incredible, it is unfortunately too true. Such a proceeding throws a shadow of distrust over the entire conduct of Elizabeth towards Queen Mary.

The subject of the King and the release of his mother evidently occupied a good deal of attention immediately Mary's fate had been announced. One of the many communications on the subject was that of Robert Stewart to the Commendator of Pittenweem dated from Linlithgow, 27th November 1586:—

"I delivered your letter to His Majesty at Falkland, which letter and proposition was well received. He inquired the knowledge of the credit specified in the letter, which I would not at that time declare in respect that both the persons whom it touched were then present, but I told His Majesty that I had something to declare that concerned his welfare, which I should do when it pleased him. I attended several times, but could not find an opportunity until the report from His Majesty's mother came: how her Grace was accused and convicted for the conspiracy against the Queen of England. His opinion apparently was 'that she had done worse evil, and far beyond her honour and duty, and he could in no wise excuse her for that conspiracy.' He added, 'She is my mother, and I love her as well as any man may do his natural mother, albeit I must hate her actions deadly.' I discussed with him the power to sit and judge her according to their pleasure, as she, being a foreigner, was not subject to their laws. He said, 'Who could control the Queen of England's laws within her own country?' There is nothing apparently

to be here but shame and ruin, except God help in time. It is concluded that the Queen shall die, but never while the King is living and at liberty. We look for nothing but to hear of her execution. The greatest part of the nobility lie out and is almost careless, looking for comfort where there is none. We are all in a miserable state; if there be any hope of help, haste in time, for he is not a Scotsman, though farthest in his relations with England, who would not hazard his life to relieve the Queen and desire the King to give them licence to that effect. The King believes that they dare do nothing to her. This is folly; if her release be not effected with great haste, she will take some sudden sickness, as ye will hear. Alas! my lord, we had some hopes after that parting to have had better news, but I perceive nothing but what your lordship knows. I dare not write what I would; I would rather be dead than aye dying. At her best what help is the Queen to us; we shall come and seek it of you. As for the noblemen you left last in the country, they believe you are either dead or have altered your opinion; we work that we may win, and we work well for it."

This letter is given as one of the few communications that have been preserved as coming from Scotland during this period. Whether the people of Scotland were silent respecting the extraordinary persecution of their Sovereign, or whether their protests against Queen Mary's treatment have not been recorded, it is impossible now to say. Their protests are conspicuous by their absence. By far the best remonstrance with Elizabeth on Mary's behalf was made by Bellievre and Chateauneuf, Ambassadors to Henry III. At their interview we have a graphic picture of Elizabeth and a side-light into her cruel disposition. How she takes God's name in vain, when she knows she is not telling the truth, is a scandalous act and an act of perjury. At that time Walsingham's interpolations would be imperfectly known outside the court, and that would very probably induce her to speak as she did. "It was impossible to save her own life and preserve that of the Scottish Queen." The narrative of this interview is one of the most important papers we possess relating to

the last days of the Scottish Queen. It would appear that the French Government sent over to England Bellievre as an Ambassador extraordinary with express orders to look after the Queen of Scots. Chateauneuf wrote asking him to hasten his journey in case the Queen of Scots should be murdered before his arrival. An audience was arranged with Elizabeth, and it took place on Sunday, 25th November, Bellievre being accompanied by Chateauneuf. Elizabeth received them with extraordinary pomp. She was seated upon her throne, the lords and officers being assembled around her in order of rank, forming altogether a brilliant spectacle. Bellievre then made his speech. "The enemies of the Queen of Scots," said he, "spread a doleful report among your people that the existence of the Queen is your ruin, and that your two lives cannot go on together in this same kingdom.... It seems as if the authors of that statement wish to attribute all to the counsel of men and leave nothing to God's providence.... If some Catholic princes resolve to attack your kingdom, it will not be to save the Queen of Scots, but to uphold religion. Though the Queen of Scots be taken away from this world, the cause of war is not removed, but rather the occasion for it increased and the pretext for war made more specious than before, to avenge an act so strange and so extraordinary committed against all worldly laws, against a sovereign princess, a Queen anointed and held sacred in the Church of God. If you put the Queen of Scots to death, as some advise you, her death will arm your enemies with despair and with an honest excuse for attempting against you all that may lie in their power to avenge the outrage." After showing Elizabeth that she ran a great risk in using rigorous measures, he asked her to ensure Mary's safety, in the name of the Queen-mother, the King of France, and the reigning Queen, in extremely tender and touching terms. "Madam," continued he, "you can greatly oblige us all by the resolution it may please you to take in the case of the noble princess who has been our Queen, and your Majesty is sure to earn our lasting thanks if, instead of handing her over to the evils with which she is threatened, you tender her a generous treatment." Elizabeth replied, "That she much regretted that persons of their quality should have been chosen to negotiate so thankless an affair,

but that her resolution was taken; and that at a later period the patience she had shown to the Queen of Scots would be appreciated, and the justice of her conduct recognised; and that, besides, she had been for some time past aware of the stories which people took the trouble to tell her, but that those noble examples could not induce her to change her purpose. She took leave of the Ambassadors, telling them that she put her faith in God, and that with His grace, poor woman as she was, she should overcome her enemies." Sentence against Queen Mary was officially announced in London on 6th December, and by command the bells were rung for twenty-four hours without ceasing. This command was from the Queen of England, and need surprise no one after the proceedings we have narrated. Fires were kindled under the windows of the French Embassy amid the hootings of the mob. That affront roused the indignation of Bellievre. He asked Elizabeth to give him time to inform the King of France what was going on. She refused to receive the letter, and sent it to Walsingham. Three days later Bellievre received verbally the assurance that Mary would get a respite of twelve days. Henry III., on being informed, empowered Bellievre to try all means which prudence might suggest to bring Elizabeth to sentiments more befitting humanity. Bellievre requested another interview, which was granted. He then put forward the wishes of Henry III. regarding Mary, and his grief on learning that the Queen of England was so unkind to her illustrious prisoner. He denied that Mary was under the jurisdiction of Elizabeth, and reflected on the unseemly way in which she had been treated. This noble princess "is so humbled and trodden underfoot that her greatest enemies ought to pity her, and therefore I plead for some clemency and kindness towards her at your Majesty's hands. What now remains for the Queen of Scots but a wretched life of a few short days! If she is innocent, she ought to be discharged. If you hold her guilty, it would be honourable and noble in you to pardon her. When your Majesty does so, then shall you do what princes are wont to do.... Those who wish to reign well and happily had better imprint on the table of their memory the sacred words, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Blood calls for blood, and such doings often bring about a sad end." These eloquent

words had no effect, and he then addressed threatening words, which aroused her. "Monsieur Bellievre," cried she angrily, "are you charged by the King my brother to address me thus?" "Yes, madam, I have His Majesty's express commands to that effect." "Have you that power signed by his hand?" "Yes, madam; the King my master has expressly commanded me and charged me by letter, signed by his own hand, to address to you remonstrances." "I ask from you as much signed by your hand," added she. Bellievre handed it to her at once, and immediately retired. He then prepared for his return to France, taking home with him only disgust at the course of events, and bitterly regretting that he had not been able to save the Queen of Scots. [\[14\]](#) This report of this famous interview gives us the substance of what was so eloquently said by the French Ambassador.

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